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Working with Navajos: A Case Study of a Diversity Training Programme

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Working with Navajos: A Case Study of a Diversity Training Programme

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‘Working with Navajos’: A Case Study of a Diversity Training Programme

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‘We have to live among you. We have to progress sufficiently to compete in the modern world. Therefore, we must shop, live, work, learn along with the rest of you, along with the rest of the world. I refuse to be shut out of the American dream. If we can’t face these problems, then there is no solution to our demise. Can we not bridge a new system, a resolution between the American Indian and the Anglos? Are we too stubborn or ignorant to change?’

Ramona Tewa, a Navajo Indian whose brother was the fatal victim of an unsolved crime in Farmington, New Mexico, addressing the New Mexico Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, April 30, 2004.

I. Introduction

a. Abstract

This paper critically analyzes – in a qualitative, exploratory way – a diversity training programme designed by Mr. Marshall Plummer, the former Vice President of the Navajo Nation, called ‘Working with Navajos.’ My research query is whether the training programme is consistent with theoretical models for developing intercultural sensitivity, particularly M.J. Bennett’s Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity. (Bennett, 1993; Bennett & Bennett, 2004) My research has included a document review and semi-structured, in-depth interviews with key informants, including Mr. Plummer.

b. Diversity Training – Background

There has been an explosion of intercultural or diversity training programmes, coterminous with the expansion of intercultural communication needs and educational exchange opportunities. (Paige, 1993)¹ ‘[I]t [diversity training] contains a network of corporations, private consultancies, government organisations, authors, business schools, and academic

¹ The liberalization of the telecommunications and travel industries has brought people of different cultures into closer contact. Furthermore, according to Carr (2003: 191), ‘[b]y the end of the 1980s it was estimated by UNESCO that approximately one million university students engaged in international mobility at the global level each year.’ By 2004, this figure had increased to at least 2.5 million third- or fourth-level students studying outside their home countries. (Mintel, 2006)

publications which, when taken together, exercise considerable power in making suggestions on how to do business with “others” who are often deemed to be “different from oneself.” (Jack & Lorbiecki, 1999: 3)

Cultural conflicts are not limited to tourism and transcultural migration. Indigenous minority cultures can face cultural conflicts due to an inability of the majority culture to deal with them in a culturally appropriate way. ‘Culture is a major source of role conflict, where the appropriate behaviour for one culture may be inappropriate for another.’ (Sizoo, Plank & Serrie, 2003: 64)²

c. Farmington, New Mexico: An Acute Need for Intercultural Sensitivity?

‘In 1975, the [US] Civil Rights Commission released “The Farmington Report: A Conflict of Cultures,” which described widespread prejudice against American Indians in Farmington [New Mexico] and said they had suffered in almost every area from injustice and maltreatment.’ (Frosch, 2006: 26)

The Civil Rights Commission report followed a horrific incident. In 1974, the partially-burned bodies of three Navajo men were found in Farmington, New Mexico. The men had been the victims of ‘Indian rolling’ – the practice, usually carried out by white teenage males, of abusing Indian street inebriates. (New Mexico Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (2005) *The Farmington Report: Civil Rights for Native Americans 30 Years Later.*) (hereinafter referred to as *30 Years Later.*) Three white high school students who were charged with the crime escaped prison sentences and were sent to reform school instead. (Frosch, 2006: 26) The Native American community in Farmington staged a series of protest marches. ‘[T]he white community found itself ... confused, threatened and frightened.’ (*30 Years Later*: 1)³

² Intercultural sensitivity between Native Americans and non-Native Americans is increasingly important in a tourism context, due to development of tourism attractions (primarily casinos) on US Indian reservations. The Seminole tribe of Florida recently purchased the Hard Rock Café, ‘one of the most recognisable brands in the world.’ (Saigol, 2006: 1)

³ American Indians comprise 10% of the New Mexico population. San Juan County – in which Farmington is located – with 113,801 people, is about 37% Native American. (*30 Years Later*: 5)

Thirty years later, on April 30, 2004, the New Mexico Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights held a one-day hearing to assess the progress made in addressing the issues raised in the 1975 report.

Farmington, New Mexico Mayor William Standley referred in this hearing to a particular diversity training programme, entitled 'Working with Navajos': 'For several years, we have enjoyed working with former Navajo Nations Vice President Marshall Plummer. He has assisted us in orienting our employees to Navajo culture and important factors involved in interactions between Navajo and western cultures.' (*30 Years Later*: 9) Also, the Farmington Police Department 'underwent cultural sensitivity training that specifically addressed Navajo issues.' (Frosch, 2006: 26)

Despite the progress noted in the Advisory Committee report, it is clear that cultural clashes have not been eliminated in Farmington. 'On June 4 [2006], the police said, three white men beat a Navajo man, William Blackie, 46, and shouted racial slurs at him after asking him to buy beer for them ... Six days later, a white Farmington police officer killed a Navajo man, Clint John, 21, after a struggle in a Wal-Mart parking lot ... The San Juan County Sheriff's Office ... concluded the shooting was justified. But after an outcry from Navajo Nations officials, the United States Justice Department is reviewing the matter to determine if a federal inquiry is necessary.' (Frosch, 2006: 26)

II. Literature Review

a. Intercultural Sensitivity

'Intercultural sensitivity is not natural.' (Bennett, 1993: 21) In fact, as the incidents in Farmington, New Mexico demonstrate, intercultural contact often results in violence. However, if we wish to educate people to behave in a more culturally sensitive way, we should try to understand why people behave the way they do, how education may change them, and what the ultimate goal of such education should be.

According to Bennett (1993: 22), '[t]he basic learning goals of intercultural communication are ... generally agreed upon, encompassing cultural self-awareness, other-culture awareness, and various skills in intercultural perception and communication.'

Schalk-Soeker, van de Vijver & Hoogsteder (2004: 534) speak of 'multiculturalism': 'Multiculturalism as an ideology refers to acceptance of different cultures in a society and also to the active support for these culture differences by both the majority group and the minority group members.'

Intercultural sensitivity can be approached through the theoretical lens of acculturation. According to Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver (2004: 19), acculturation equals 'the process of culture change that occurs when individuals from different cultural backgrounds come into prolonged, continuous, first-hand contact with each other.' These authors hypothesise a bi-dimensional frame, in which individuals can adopt an 'acculturation strategy' that might consist of integration (maintaining original identity while accommodating the 'host' culture), assimilation (losing the original identity while adopting the host culture), separation (rejecting the host culture while valorising the original identity), or marginality (rejecting the host culture while degrading the original identity).

Schalk-Soeker, van de Vijver & Hoogsteder (2004) extend Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver's analysis (2004) to embrace majority as well as minority cultures. According to these authors, '[m]ulticultural societies will function more smoothly when groups treat each other more equally.' (Schalk-Soeker, van de Vijver & Hoogsteder, 2004: 535)

Collier (1994) approaches intercultural sensitivity from a communications perspective. Intercultural competence is recognising the cultural identity being 'communicated' and negotiating an appropriate communications stance. '[U]nderstanding the identity being avowed and ascribed and noting the intensity with which the identity is avowed, enables

us to understand why a particular cultural identity emerges salient in particular situations and therefore what contextual, social or psychological factors are operating in the situation.’ (Collier, 1994: 44)

It can be counterproductive to expect or demand those with other cultural perspectives to become more like us; they may be overwhelmed as a result. (Trompenaars, F. & Hampden-Turner, C., 1997)

b. Bennett’s Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity

Bennett’s Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity comprises two primary stages – Ethnocentric and Ethnorelative. Each primary stage has various sub-stages, each with several components:

Ethnocentric

- I. Denial – A. Isolation, B. Separation
- II. Defence – A. Denigration, B. Superiority, C. Reversal
- III. Minimisation – A. Physical Universalism, B. Transcendent Universalism

Ethnorelative

- IV. Acceptance – A. Respect for Behavioral Differences, B. Respect for Value Differences
- V. Adaptation – A. Empathy, B. Pluralism
- VI. Integration – A. Contextual Evaluation, B. Constructive Marginality

The model is linear, but not unidirectional – although in regressive moves an individual typically retains knowledge and attitudes gained at a later stage.

Each stage of development may have a cognitive, affective and behavioural component. Cognitively, one becomes aware of cultural difference (e.g., by learning of a ‘gay pride’ parade). Affectively, one feels threatened by this knowledge (e.g., ‘Why do they have to

force it down my throat?’). Behaviourally, one adopts responsive behaviour (e.g., by proposing a ‘Heterosexual Pride’ parade.) There may be cognitive, affective and behavioural responses at each stage of development.

‘Ethnocentric’ is a belief that one’s world view is central to all reality. Ethnocentric stages vary from denial of cultural difference to a minimization of its importance. By contrast, an individual who has reached the Ethnorelative Stage appreciates that cultures can only be understood in relation to each other. ‘One’s own culture is not any more central to reality than any other culture, although it may be preferable to a particular individual or group.’ (Bennett, 1993: 46)

The Ethnocentric substages commence with ‘Denial’. Denial can take two forms: Isolation (e.g., a homogenous rural community) or Separation (e.g., physical or psychological barriers, e.g., gated communities). Separation represents a slight, progressive move from Isolation, in that Separation acknowledges that difference exists.

A significant contribution of Bennett’s model is that he provides suggestions how to move an individual along the scale from Ethnocentric to Ethnorelative. He makes suggestions appropriate to an individual at each stage of development, and warns against regression that might result from proceeding too rapidly or inappropriately at any stage.⁴

Defence, the next sub-stage in development, can take three forms, each representing a progressive stage of development in the Ethnocentric portion of the development of intercultural sensitivity. These three forms or stages are Denigration, Superiority and Reversal. Defence represents an acknowledgement of cultural difference (hence a

⁴ An interesting example of backlash occurred in the USA and involved Buster the Bunny. (Gaffney, 2006: E1). Buster the Bunny appeared in a Public Broadcasting Service television series called ‘Postcards from Buster,’ which was partially funded by the U.S. Department of Education. The goal was to promote cultural diversity, and included documentary footage of children from different cultures meeting with Buster and other animated cartoon characters. An episode set in Vermont concerning the making of maple sugar included a visit by Buster to a young girl being cared for by a lesbian couple. (Vermont was the first US State to adopt same-sex civil partnership laws.) This episode unleashed a firestorm of controversy. Education Secretary Margaret Spellings condemned the episode and received 150,000 emails and postcards supporting her stance. The Department of Education rewrote its grant applications to eliminate calls for cultural diversity in its solicitation of proposed educational projects.

progression from outright Denial), combined with the adoption of a strategy to 'combat' the perceived differences.

The first stage of Defence is Denigration. Superiority is the next stage of Defence. This stage emphasizes the positive aspects of one's own culture, and is preferable to (when not accompanied by) Denigration. In its 'pure' form, it represents a developmental stage en route to Ethnorelativism. Also, Superiority may be employed by oppressed groups as a challenge to, rather than reinforcement of, the dominant status quo.

Reversal, the third major sub-stage of Defence, is not inevitable. Reversal is characterised by touting the superiority of another culture over one's own. The best approach is inoculation, by noting this possibility among those prone to it.

Minimisation is the final form taken by Ethnocentrism. Cultural difference is buried under alleged similarities between cultures, e.g., that individual motivations drive behaviour. It represents progression from Superiority and Denigration.

Minimisation can take two forms: Physical Universalism (e.g., 'everyone must eat, procreate and die'), which attributes cultural difference to mere permutations of a set of universal, instinctive behaviours, and; Transcendent Universalism (e.g., 'we are all God's children'), which is another universalising strategy. Another example is the Marxist philosophy of historical imperatives based on an economic class analysis. Universalism can disintegrate into Superiority or Denigration. When people do not respond consistent with beliefs in universalism, the conclusion often is not that the universalism paradigm is incorrect, but that there is something wrong with the other person.

Turning to developmental strategies, Bennett notes that it is difficult to move from ethnocentric to ethnorelative positions. He recommends an inductive approach – developing awareness of one's own culture in order to progress notions of relativity. Also, facilitated discussion groups with trained participants from another culture can assist in the progression. The goal is to progress to the Ethnorelative Stages.

The first stage of Ethnorelative development is Acceptance. At this stage, an individual accepts and respects the fact of cultural difference. This can take two stages: 1) respect for difference in cultural behaviours, and; 2) respect for difference in cultural values. The respect for behavioural difference is the easier stage to accomplish. Language, for example, is respected as a form of behavioural difference (cf., English-only laws in the USA), but with the possibility that this is merely a permutation on universal underlying values. It is necessary to progress from respect for differences in behaviour to acknowledging and respecting different cultural values.

Adaptation is the next stage of Ethnorelative development. Adaptation does not mean assimilation, which is akin to Reversal. There are two stages to Adaptation: 1) Empathy ('the ability to experience some aspect of reality differently from what is "given" by one's own culture' (Bennett, 1993: 53)), and; Pluralism (the ability to experience cultural difference from within another cultural frame.) Pluralism is a progression from Empathy, and usually requires several years of living within another frame, or continual exposure to another culture.

The final stage of Ethnorelative development is Integration. 'The integrated person understands that his or her identity emerges from the act of defining identity itself.' (Bennett, 1993: 60) There are two aspects to Integration: 1) Contextual Integration, and; 2) Constructive Marginality. Contextual Integration characterises a person who is able to choose between various cultural approaches depending upon the appropriateness of the choice. In Constructive Marginality, there is no natural cultural identity; the person recognises that he or she is a product of the act of cultural definition.

Various criticisms could be levelled against Bennett's (1993) model. For one, it lacks practicality. Bennett fails to specify the time frame for the various stages. With few exceptions, he does not give practical examples of how to move the hypothetical participant from one developmental stage to the next. He cautions against proceeding too rapidly without giving practical tips on how to spot recalcitrant subjects. The model

would seem impractical to apply to group settings: what if one participant is ready to move to the next stage, but developmental strategies directed to that person would produce regression in the remaining participants? These very practical issues are not addressed.

a. DMIS Applied to Institutions

In a later paper, Bennett and Bennett (2004) address diversity training and its various permutations.

An institution can exhibit characteristics similar to those of individuals. An organisation characterised by Defence sees interculturalism as troublesome, and tries to avoid it, by avoiding hiring non-dominant groups. An organisation characterised by Minimisation will seek to minimise perceived differences and adopt a strong corporate culture to which all are expected to adhere; they will promote the notion that all have equal opportunities and will not single out minority staff for particular attention and support. At the Acceptance stage, an organisation is likely to ‘talk the talk,’ without ‘walking the walk.’ This can lead to paralysis, by recognising, but not accommodating cultural difference. At the Adaptation stage, an institution may attempt to adapt to another cultural viewpoint. The final stage is Integration.

Bennett and Bennett also characterise various approaches to diversity training within institutions. For example, the ‘Capital C’ culture approach highlights ‘heroes and holidays’ of different cultures. ‘Ethnic food’ may be served in the cafeteria, and Black History Month posters displayed. The Assimilationist Approach attempts to facilitate the admission of the non-dominant party into the dominant culture. This is doomed to failure unless all views are regarded as equally valid. The Diversity-Lite approach attempts to educate about the existence of diversity and the importance of accepting diversity in the workplace. It appeals to those in the Minimisation phase of DMIS; it is regarded as inadequate by non-dominant groups.

'Isms' is an attempt to inform the audience of the negative consequences of racism, sexism, homophobia, ageism and to assist them in developing strategies to overcome these consequences. The 'Isms' Approach requires sensitivity to learner readiness to avoid backlash. The Legal Approach emphasises what not to do and, for that reason, is often avoided by diversity professionals.

IV. Case Study

a. Methodology

My qualitative, exploratory research investigates the extent to which a diversity training programme, 'Working with Navajos' comports with Bennett's (1993; 2004) and other's (developmental) models of intercultural sensitivity. My primary research consisted primarily of semi-structured, in-depth telephone interviews with several key informants in Farmington, New Mexico, and a close reading of PowerPoint materials used in 'Working with Navajos'.

Susan Hare works in the personnel department of the city of Farmington, and was responsible for arranging intercultural sensitivity training for the Farmington police department, among others. (Telephone interview with Susan Hare, 30 November 2006) According to Ms. Hare, the training programme attempts to show that 'because of their [Navajo] cultural background this means they respond differently to things.' She said the programme was conducted about once a year, and that she had taken the programme about three years previously.

'He has all kind of activities,' according to Ms. Hare. 'He brings in a boom box and plays Indian ceremonial music on it.' She said a tribal dance was performed after lunch.

Informal feedback provided positive responses. 'This definitely has been a good thing for us,' Ms. Hare said. She said she was thinking of offering a follow up programme,

which would go ‘deeper in to culture.’ She said the city lacked resources at present to pursue this follow up programme.

Ms. Hare directed me to Ms. Julie Rasor, Assistant Director of the Business and Industry Training Center of San Juan College. Ms. Rasor said that the Center had developed the training programme, ‘Working with Navajos’ with Mr. Marshall Plummer, and provided this training on request to local employers. (Telephone interview with Ms. Rasor, 5 December 2006) She described Mr Plummer as ‘full-blooded Navajo’ and said they his training explained ‘why Navajos behave the way they do.’ As she described it, Mr. Plummer helped non-Natives interact better with Navajos.

The programme is marketed as a professional development programme, and the typical audience consists of non-Native business managers. Telephone interview with Ms. Rasor, 5 December 2006) Some Navajos do participate. Some Native Americans refuse to participate. Ms. Rasor estimated participation as 80% Anglo or other non-Native, and 20% Navajo or other Native American.

‘We also do Apache,’ Ms. Rasor said. ‘We border about five Indian reservations in this area.’

b. A Training Programme: ‘Working with Navajos’

Mr. Plummer responded to my email query on 13 December 2006: ‘*Here is the powerpoint presentation but there is alot (sic) more that I share with those that take the class.*’ The PowerPoint presentation is attached as Appendix A. I subsequently interviewed Mr. Plummer by telephone on 13 and 21 December 2006.

According to Mr. Plummer, the training can be presented as a one- or two-day programme, presented from 8 am to 4 pm. It is delivered to mostly a non-Native audience. The programme starts with a history of the Navajo experience. (Thesis of

Navajo Culture Transition, Appendix A) The programme describes the language of 'victimhood'. (Language of Owners and Victims, Appendix A)

Mr. Plummer claimed that 70 to 80% of Navajos still employ a 'victim's' discourse in their language. He feels this information can help non-Navajos communicate better with Navajos.

Mr. Plummer repeatedly emphasised that much of the behaviour of the Navajo could be explained or understood by reference to US Government treatment of Native Americans. (Telephone interview with Marshall Plummer, 13 and 21 December 2006) He placed much emphasis on the fact that Native Americans typically do not own the land on which they live; these lands (reservations) are held in trust by the US Government and administered for the benefit of Native Americans. (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 2005)

Mr. Plummer has not given much thought to the sequence of his presentation. 'It depends on the audience,' he said. (Telephone interview with Marshall Plummer, 21 December 2006)

Mr. Plummer uses a type of personality assessment exercise he calls 'Dyna Metrics.' 'This survey will lay out people's strengths and weaknesses,' he said. He has a database of more than 200 people, comprising Native and non-Native Americans.

According to Mr. Plummer, Native Americans are more patient and less directed to achieving goals. Non-native people are more result oriented and impatient to achieve goals. 'For example,' he said. 'You are very aggressive in asking questions and I am very patient in waiting until you ask a question before volunteering information.' Mr. Plummer believes it is useful for both Native and non-Native people to reflect on their own behaviour.

Ultimately, Mr. Plummer believes his audiences will realise that no group is different than any other group.

‘If you study Anglo populations affected by poverty,’ Mr. Plummer said. ‘They use the same victim language as Native Americans. Explaining this helps a non-Native audience realise, “Hey, they’re just like me”’. Mr. Plummer believes that language is the only real difference between Navajo and Anglo populations. Yet, he hinted that the richness of the Navajo language was useful in explaining Navajo behaviour.

‘If I put a chair on a table and ask, “What is this?” the non-Native person will say, “It is a chair,”’ Mr. Plummer said. ‘But a Native person will say, “It is a wooden structure with four legs.”’

c. DMIS Applied to ‘Working with Navajos’

The most significant limitation to my research is the inability to participate in the training programme, ‘Working with Navajos’. As Mr. Plummer said, ‘You are not here.’

Nevertheless, some preliminary observations are possible.

The PowerPoint slides used in the programme reveal an amalgam of approaches, reflecting thinking of various experts on promoting multiculturalism or intercultural sensitivity. The approach does not seem to follow the step-by-step personal development outlined by Bennett (1993). There are aspects of the presentation that may be reflective of a ‘Diversity Lite’ (Bennet & Bennett, 2004) approach to intercultural sensitivity by an organisation employing this particular training programme.

The early slides reflect the Transcendent Universalism stage of the Ethnographic state of Minimisation. Transcendent Universalism ‘suggests that all human beings, whether they know it or not, are products of some single transcendent principle, law, or imperative.’ (Bennett, 1993: 43) Mr. Plummer begins his training with a quote from 1 Corinthians 12:4-6: ‘There are different kinds of gifts, but the same Spirit. There are different kinds of service, but the same Lord. There are different kinds of working, but the same God

works all of them in all men.’ (Appendix A) The following slide asserts ‘We ... pursue the same goal and God’ ... ‘God is the source of each gift.’ According to Bennett (1993: 43), ‘The statement “We are all God’s children,” is indicative of this religious form of universalism...’

However, there is a twist. According to Bennett (1993: 42): ‘These assumed universal characteristics are almost always derived from the native culture of the person making the assertion, who is usually a member of the dominant culture of a society.’ Mr. Plummer is the former Vice President of the Navajo Nation, and not a member of the dominant Anglo culture.

Mr. Plummer’s emphasis on poverty as one of the critical forces shaping cultural behaviour among the Navajo bespeaks ‘the Marxist notion of historical imperative, wherein all people are subject to the same historical forces’ and that ‘economic and political laws ... affect all people in the same way....’ (Bennett, 1993: 43)

Paradoxically, the majority of slides seem designed to promote the Ethnorelative stages of Acceptance, Adaptation, and Integration. The recitation of the history of Indian disfranchisement would seem a non-threatening way of promoting awareness of cultural context, and difference. This would seem particularly true if, as Mr. Plummer states, this is combined with efforts to make the predominantly Anglo audience aware of its own culture and heritage. As Mr. Plummer said, ‘I want people to ask themselves, “What is my history?” “What are my traditions?”’

Ms. Rasor’s comment that a better understanding of Navajo culture would help managers empathise with higher rates of absenteeism (due to the Navajo’s additional burden of caring for his or her extended family), seems to reflect an effort to promote respect for behavioural and value differences. Mr. Plummer’s comments and slides support this interpretation. Mr. Plummer distinguishes between Traditional, Western and T/W (‘Blending of Traditional and Western Thinking’) groupings within the Navajo community. He employs a role-playing exercise where the participants imagine the

different reactions of a Traditional Navajo grandmother and Western Thinking Navajo grandson. This might foster Contextual Evaluation and, perhaps, Constructive Marginality – the ultimate goal or outcome of intercultural sensitivity.

Overall, Mr. Plummer's approach seems to be educating his audience that events or data lack significance in the absence of the meaning attributed to these events by those observing them. This is a profound insight. It seems to be reflected in his slide entitled 'Ladder of Inference' which – particularly when viewed with the animation scheme employed in the presentation – implies that meaning or cultural values results from a process that occurs as individuals apply their worldview to the data being observed. This is perhaps most strongly reflected in a comment appearing a few slides down entitled, 'Narrative Therapy': "There is no reality; reality is what we create it to be". (Appendix A)

The communications perspective of intercultural sensitivity (Collier 1994) may be reflected in the slide 'Implications using Circles of Influence.' In this slide, Mr. Plummer states, 'Be sensitive to your actions or issuing instructions that may result in the "victim" syndrome.'

There may be a danger that 'Working with Navajos' promotes an Assimilationist or Diversity Lite approach to intercultural sensitivity. Several observations support this hypothesis. First, the presentation is directed primarily to a non-Native American audience, although some of the observations would seem to make most sense directed to a Native audience. It may be assuming the ethically superior position of the dominant Anglo culture, and imparting 'tools' to assist with the assimilation of Native American workers into Anglo ways. (Jack & Lorbiecki, 1999)

V. Conclusion

Mr. Plummer has developed an important tool for promoting intercultural sensitivity among non-Native people towards Indians, particularly Navajo.

This tool does not follow the step-by-step approach suggested by Bennett's model of intercultural sensitivity (1993). If an institution employed this training exclusively and presented it to a predominantly Anglo audience, it might be accused of adopting an Ethnocentric approach to cultural diversity.

Further research would be required to assess the efficacy of 'Working with Navajos' in achieving the goal of intercultural sensitivity.

One approach would be to conduct before and after focus groups and/or in-depth interviews with participants of this training programme. This qualitative approach might place individuals on Bennett's scale of intercultural sensitivity before and after such training, and perhaps imply progression (or lack thereof) from participation in the programme. The rich data might provide insight into what affective, cognitive and/or behavioural changes could be attributed to the training programme.

Another approach might be to employ a control group of individuals who do not take the programme, and present them with a series of hypothetical cross-cultural encounters to determine their response and place it on Bennett's scale. These responses could be compared with responses to identical hypothetical situations by individuals who had participated in the training programme.

If Mr. Plummer wished to incorporate Bennett's approach (1993; 2004) into his current training programme, he might wish formally to consider the sequencing of the steps outlined in this training. He might wish to emphasise the Transcendental Universalism at the outset, but recognise this as a developmental stage leading to Cultural Adaptation and an ability to achieve Constructive Marginality. At a more fundamental level, he may wish to consider whether the overall goal of his training is to help people realise that we are basically all alike, or, rather, to appreciate that we are all fundamentally different.

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